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ABSTRACT

Adult literacy programs in New York City serve persons with a wide range of employment needs and expectations. Information from the Literacy Assistance Center provides the following impressions about the adult learner population: (1) approximately one-half of the students attending programs are working, but lengthy periods of unemployment among the other half are common; (2) nearly two-thirds of the participants in literacy programs are women, who are less likely to be employed and more likely to receive public assistance; and (3) in general, the patterns of employment among New York City's adult learner population resemble the trends among adults without high school diplomas nationally. Students and policy-makers often expect adult literacy programs to provide employment as well as educational services. Although participation in literacy programs may aid students in their work situations, the experiences of program administrators and staff lead many to believe that a more aggressive strategy for coping with unemployment is needed. Strategies to assist adults who are not working to participate in basic education courses have been tried. Implementing these strategies on a broader scale will require new practices and additional resources. Ideally, students should be retained beyond the point of finding employment, to facilitate long-term career development and ongoing educational achievements. (KC)

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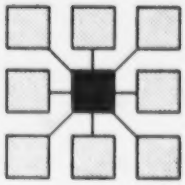

The New York City Adult Literacy Initiative

EMPLOYMENT AND ADULT LITERACY: CRITICAL FACTS

A Critical Issues Paper by Janice Lee Albert

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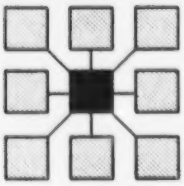

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PREFACE

This paper is one in a series of critical issues papers to be prepared periodically by the Literacy Assistance Center in New York City. Each paper will present, in a brief summary manner, information on a specific aspect of adult literacy. The purpose is to make available information which will inform and enhance understanding of the overall New York City Adult Literacy Initiative and lead to an improved service delivery system.

In New York City there are approximately 1.5 million adults, including out-of-school youth, ages 16 and up, whose literacy skills are inadequate to effectively perform the tasks required in our society. Nationally, the number of adults with nonfunctional levels of literacy skills is more than 23 million. For many of these adults, their limited abilities to read, write, speak English, and compute become barriers to achieving the quality of life they desire.

Each year, approximately 50,000 New York City residents participate in adult literacy programs coordinated by the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative. These individuals bring with them a very wide range of abilities, needs, and goals. Providing literacy education services for this wide range of individuals requires a comprehensive and complex system.

The purpose of this and other critical issues papers is to isolate a specific theme or topic that is critical to providing effective adult literacy services, and to provide information in a form that is accessible and useful. These papers will provide a brief review and analysis of the data specific to the topic. Findings from the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative data base, as well as other relevant research, will be summarized and incorporated into the report.

For many adult learners, one goal is to increase or improve their employment opportunities. Increasing the number of individuals engaged in productive employment is also a goal of policy makers. Thus, this paper focuses specifically on employment and adult literacy. Information on characteristics of the adult learners, their educational attainment, and their participation in the labor force is presented. In addition, issues and challenges are identified and discussed with a view toward implications for program improvement and policy development.

The overall aim of this series of critical issues papers is to make available—to state and local public officials, program managers and practitioners, and the public in general—information which will lead to the development and/or improvement of programs to meet more effectively the needs of adult learners in New York City.

Angela M. Covert, Ed.D.
Executive Director

February 1990

ABOUT THE NEW YORK CITY ADULT LITERACY INITIATIVE

In New York City, as in many areas around the country, large numbers of residents have low literacy skills. They read, write, speak English and/or compute at levels that may inhibit their ability to perform tasks that are often needed in our society.

Until 1984, New York City could draw upon a modest amount of Federal and State funds, supplemented by a mixture of job-training funds, and foundation and community grants, to provide literacy education to a limited number of students. Recognizing that existing services were inadequate to meet municipal needs, the City in late 1983 entered into an agreement with the State and the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) to commit economic development funds over a four-year period to expand and upgrade New York City's adult literacy programs. The agreement formed the basis of an innovative new program—the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative—jointly sponsored by the New York City Mayor's Office and the State Education Department (SED).

Today the Initiative is supported by a combination of direct funds from New York City, and by allocations from various State and Federal sources, primarily New York State Employment Preparation Education funds and U.S. Adult Education Act funds, which are overseen by SED. The Initiative serves approximately 50,000 adult learners a year with waiting lists averaging 13,000 individuals annually.

The Initiative is collaborative in its funding and sponsorship, offering services to students through a network of providers. These Literacy Provider Agencies, or LPAs, include the New York City Board of Education (BOE), the Community Development Agency (CDA) of the City's Human Resources Administration, the City University of New York (CUNY), and the public libraries of Brooklyn, New York, and Queens. Through these LPAs adult learners can study at over 300 sites citywide—college campuses, community-based organizations, public schools, and public libraries—in a variety of settings that include classes, small groups, and individual tutoring arrangements.

Students who use the Initiative's services range in skill levels from those who do not know the alphabet or more than a few words of English to those who need only a few months of study to prepare for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED). Overall, the types of instruction offered through the Initiative fall into five different categories: Basic Education (BE)—literacy instruction for native speakers of English, including reading, writing, and mathematics; English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)—classes that are taught in English but that often include speakers of several languages within one class; Basic Education in the Native Language (BENL)—classes for students who are not literate in their native tongue; mathematics alone; and preparation for the GED. Through this range of offerings, the Initiative seeks to make diversity of opportunity the hallmark of its provision of services to the city's adults.

THE LITERACY ASSISTANCE CENTER

To facilitate implementation of the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative, the Mayor's Office, with additional support from the New York State Education Department and the private sector, established the Literacy Assistance Center. The Center serves as a source of data collection, research, staff training, technical assistance, and referral services to the Initiative.

The Center:

- **develops and maintains citywide data on students in the Initiative;**
- **conducts research on adult literacy to inform and influence policy and practice;**
- **provides staff development services to literacy practitioners;**
- **offers, in collaboration with the LPAs, technical assistance to literacy programs;**
- **refers prospective students and volunteers to programs;**
- **maintains an instructional resources center for use by literacy professionals;**
- **disseminates information on literacy issues through the publication of a quarterly newsletter and a monthly calendar of literacy-related events and job openings, and through meetings and conferences.**

DATA SOURCES

The data on students and programs presented in this paper and in companion papers in the series come from several sources:

- First, the Center has developed and maintains a management information system, Adult Literacy Information and Evaluation System (ALIES), which is used to record and track demographic characteristics (including employment status), standardized test scores and various program information relating to individuals who attend CUNY, CBO and New York Public Library programs. The Center annually combines these data with comparable data from the Board of Education data system to produce the citywide adult literacy data base which is used for statistical analyses.
- Second, the Center is able to supplement this information with student data presented in annual reports submitted by each literacy program funded through the Initiative to that program's Literacy Provider Agency (the Board of Education, the Community Development Agency, CUNY, or one of the three libraries). An annual citywide report is then compiled by the LAC, providing an overview of all students and activities involved in the Initiative for that particular year.

- Third, the Center conducts selected studies on particular adult literacy issues. For example, in a longitudinal study of adult learners begun in 1988, the Center carried out in-depth interviews, a survey of programs, and special analyses of the citywide data base, to develop a better understanding of the needs of specific groups of students served by the Initiative. In addition, an ethnographic study of 32 African-American BE students was conducted in 1987 by N. Trika Smith-Burke. Also, results of a survey of staff in the Adult Literacy Initiative and an investigation of curricular practices within the Initiative were released in 1986.

Because Center staff members routinely interact with practitioners, the research is informed by the practical insights of literacy teachers, counselors, and program managers. In addition to distilling findings from many of the more formal studies and data analyses just cited, this report reflects much of that programmatic knowledge.

EMPLOYMENT AND ADULT LITERACY: CRITICAL FACTS

INTRODUCTION

In 1984, the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative was established to provide instruction in Basic Education and English for Speakers of Other Languages for New York City residents, age 16 years or older. Each year, programs funded by the Initiative serve approximately 50,000 students of diverse backgrounds. Students who attend literacy programs are very often motivated by a desire to improve their performance in their current occupations, attain promotions or new jobs, and/or begin a career.

One major goal of the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative is to improve the employment outlook for city residents. To accomplish this goal, guidelines suggest that one-half of the students served by programs be unemployed and/or receiving public assistance. Programs have succeeded in meeting their goal of recruiting students who are seeking employment or not participating in the labor force. Approximately one-fifth of these non-working students are receiving public assistance.

While many New Yorkers seeking jobs are unable to find work, organizations in the private and public sectors are increasingly unable to find qualified employees. Due to demographic and educational trends, there is concern nationwide that a labor shortage will exist in the coming period.

To inform policy makers, and to assist adult literacy practitioners in addressing the employment-related needs of New York City's adult learners, data maintained in the citywide data base and other studies conducted by the Literacy Assistance Center are presented below. Information about employment and education in the larger population is provided to allow practitioners to view the situation of their program participants in a broader social context.

FACTS ABOUT EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

- Nearly six million individuals of working age resided in New York City in 1988. Among these adults, 57% participated in the labor force: 52% were employed while slightly less than 5% were looking for work. Nationwide, the rate of labor force participation is 65%.
- Labor force participation in New York City declined in the 1980s. For those adults remaining in the work force, unemployment rates increased. The highest rates of unemployment are found among Black and Hispanic males. The unemployment rate for White males was 6.3% in 1986. For Black and Hispanic males, the unemployment rates for that year were 18.7% and 12.7%, respectively.
- Among women, White females had the lowest unemployment rate (5.6%), while Black and Hispanic women had unemployment rates of 9.8% and 13.6%, respectively.
- In the U.S., it is more common for men to participate in the labor force than women. Among Whites in the civilian population, 76.9% of males and 56.4% of females participated in the labor force in 1988. Seventy-one percent of Black males and 58.0% of Black females in the civilian population were part of the labor force that year. Within the Hispanic civilian population, 81.9% of men and 53.2% of women participated in the labor force in 1988.
- The gap between the demand of the labor market and the availability of qualified job seekers is evident. In the next decade, more than 90% of the job openings in New York City will be in occupations that require a high school diploma. Yet, nearly 30% of New York City public high school students leave school before completing their degrees, according to the Board of Education.
- Variation in New York City high school drop-out rates among ethnic groups is noteworthy: 28.6% of Whites, 35.8% of Blacks, and 51.5% of Hispanics left high school before graduation. For each group, these drop-out rates are approximately 10% higher than the rates nationwide for comparable groups.
- In spite of the prosperity experienced in New York City in the early 1980s, the poor population increased from approximately 1.4 million in 1979 to 1.7 million in 1984. In 1985, only 41% of all poor adults residing in New York City were high school graduates. (In this case, the poor population is defined as those individuals living at or below 100% of the federal poverty level.)
- Among poor city residents, nearly 80% were Black or Hispanic. In 1984, the Black poverty rate was 32% while the poverty rate for Hispanics was 43%.
- More than 800,000 city residents participated in some form of income maintenance program in 1988. The City of New York contributed $1,895 million for public assistance alone that year.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION PATTERNS AMONG ADULT LEARNERS

The New York City adult literacy programs routinely collect data on the employment status of their students. These data, along with other demographic data and certain program and outcome information, are incorporated into the New York City adult literacy student data base created each year by the Literacy Assistance Center. Analysis of the data base allows for descriptions of employment patterns among students in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, past experience with formal education, and the type of program a student attends.

During the 1987-88 program year, data were gathered on 17,815 adults participating in Basic Education programs, as well as 26,996 adults attending English for Speakers of Other Languages programs in New York City.[1] All of the information was provided by the students themselves.

[1] The data base does not include students enrolled in two of the library programs and students attending Basic Education in Native Language (BENL) classes.

GENDER

The majority of adults participating in literacy programs in New York City were women. In BE programs, 61% of the participants were female while 39% of the students were male. Among ESOL program participants, 63% were women and 37% were men. In both BE and ESOL programs, male participants were more likely to be employed than were female participants.

TABLE 1
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY GENDER

	BE		ESOL	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Total Number	10,361	6,680	16,214	9,365
PERCENT EMPLOYED				
Full Time	28	42	44	68
Part Time	14	18	8	7
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED				
1 Year or More	22	14	15	10
Less than 1 Year	12	9	12	8
Not in Labor Force	24	17	21	7
Total Percent	100	100	100	100

AGE

In every age group there are higher levels of full time participation in the labor force among ESOL students than among BE students. While full time employment levels vary with age in the BE population, there is a more consistent employment pattern among ESOL students. Full time employment is lowest among teenagers and senior citizens enrolled in ESOL and BE programs.

TABLE II
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY AGE

TOTAL BE 17,251

Age in Years	18 -21	22 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 +
Total Number	2,321	4,947	4,874	3,047	1,475	587
PERCENT EMPLOYED						
Full time	18	30	35	42	46	35
Part time	37	19	8	8	9	10
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED						
1 Year or More	20	19	21	19	17	15
Less than 1 Year	13	10	11	10	9	6
Not in Labor force	12	22	25	21	19	34
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100

TOTAL ESOL 26,147

Total Number	1,331	6,595	8,967	5,484	2,683	1,087
PERCENT EMPLOYED						
Full time	44	58	53	50	54	39
Part time	9	10	7	7	6	5
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED						
1 Year or More	17	12	14	13	12	11
Less than 1 Year	15	10	10	11	10	11
Not in Labor force	15	10	16	19	18	34
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100

ETHNICITY

Among the approximately 7 million individuals living in New York City in 1980, 61% were White, 25% were Black, 3% were Asian, while 11% were classified as "other". Twenty percent of the New York City residents were also classified as Hispanic.

Of the 42,357 adult learners for whom information on ethnicity exists, 30% were Black, 11% were Asian, 49% were Hispanic (not counted as part of other categories in this case) and 10% were White.

The employment patterns of various ethnic groups within the adult learner population were fairly similar. A greater contrast appeared between the BE and ESOL populations than among the different ethnic groups attending a particular type of program.

TABLE III
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY ETHNICITY *

	TOTAL BE 16,886				TOTAL ESOL 25,471			
Ethnicity	Black		Asian		Hispanic		White	
	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL
Total Number	10,014	2,655	782	4,589	4,613	15,547	1,477	2,680
PERCENT EMPLOYED								
Full time	37	54	36	54	26	54	35	45
Part time	18	12	8	8	12	7	12	6
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED								
1 Year or More	18	15	19	16	23	12	16	14
Less than 1 Year	10	10	11	10	12	9	13	18
Not in Labor force	17	9	26	12	27	18	24	17
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Excludes individuals categorized as "other"

PRIOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT RATES

In general, higher levels of education are associated with higher rates of employment. In 1987, the unemployment rate among the segment of the U.S. population with 1-3 years of high school was 14.8% while the unemployment rate for those with 4 years of high school was 7.2%. However, when employment patterns of adult learners with varying levels of formal education are compared, there is not a consistent pattern of higher employment rates among individuals with more years of education. Among BE students, employment rates for adult learners who attended high school but did not graduate are lower than for students with less education. This pattern may be related to the age of these students. Younger individuals may have had the opportunity to remain in school longer. Their experience in the labor force may be too recent to have secured stable employment.

Participation in the labor force is less common among individuals who left school before receiving their high school diploma. In 1985, 64% of the individuals who dropped out of school were part of the labor force. In contrast, 81% of the high school graduates in the U.S. were participating in the labor force at this time.

When length of unemployment and non-participation in the labor force are compared across levels of educational attainment within the adult learner population, there is some variation. Adult learners who attended high school participate in the labor force slightly more often than persons who left school at an earlier point.

TABLE IV
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY PRIOR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Grade Completed	8th grade or less		1-3 years High School		4 years High School +	
	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL
Total Number	3,946	6,047	7,733	4,009	1,612	7,630
PERCENT EMPLOYED						
Full time	36	45	25	48	43	48
Part time	12	6	22	8	12	9
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED						
1 Year or More	20	16	21	14	18	14
Less than 1 Year	10	11	10	12	12	16
Not in Labor force	22	22	22	18	15	13
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100

TYPES OF OCCUPATION

Nationally, the vast majority of clerical, sales, technical, managerial, and professional positions require at least a high school diploma. Opportunities for job seekers without a high school degree tend to be confined to household and service occupations, machine operators, transportation, farming and laborer positions.

Of the more than 3 million individuals employed in New York City in 1986, 35.6% worked in service industries. Large numbers of employees holding jobs in this category worked in health services, personal services (e.g. laundry), protective agencies, building maintenance and equipment repair services, personnel agencies, and social services, especially education.

More than 20% of employees in New York City held jobs in the wholesale or retail trades, 18.2% worked in finance, insurance or real estate businesses, while 14.9% were employed in manufacturing industries. The transportation services and public utilities employed 7.6% of the active labor force while the construction industry provided jobs for 3.6% of New York's employees.

In a longitudinal survey of adult literacy students initiated by the Literacy Assistance Center in 1988, occupational patterns among students who were employed were illustrated.[2]

- Nearly 40% of employed BE students reported that they worked in service occupations and 25% of these BE students said they worked in clerical or sales positions. A third category of occupation reported by BE students was professional, technical, and managerial (16%). Seven percent of the BE students said they held construction jobs.
- More than one-third of the employed survey respondents who studied English said they were working in service occupations. Twenty-two percent of these ESOL students reported being employed in factories. Thirteen percent of employed ESOL students noted that they held clerical or sales positions. Finally, nearly 6% of the ESOL students interviewed said they held professional, technical or managerial positions.

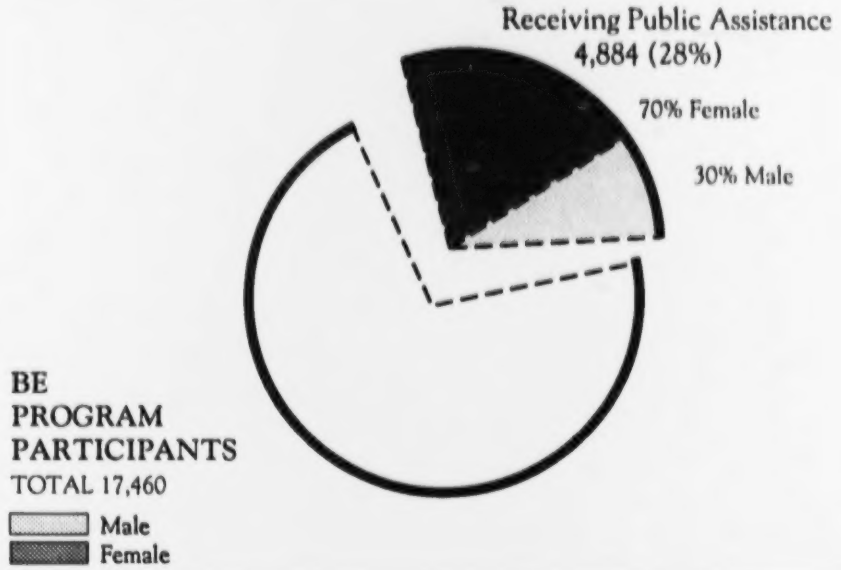
Job aspirations of adult literacy students vary greatly. Students currently employed in service occupations or machine trades report their desire to become clerical and sales employees. Clerical and sales workers hope to become engineers, social workers, health professionals and teachers. Some would like to start their own businesses.

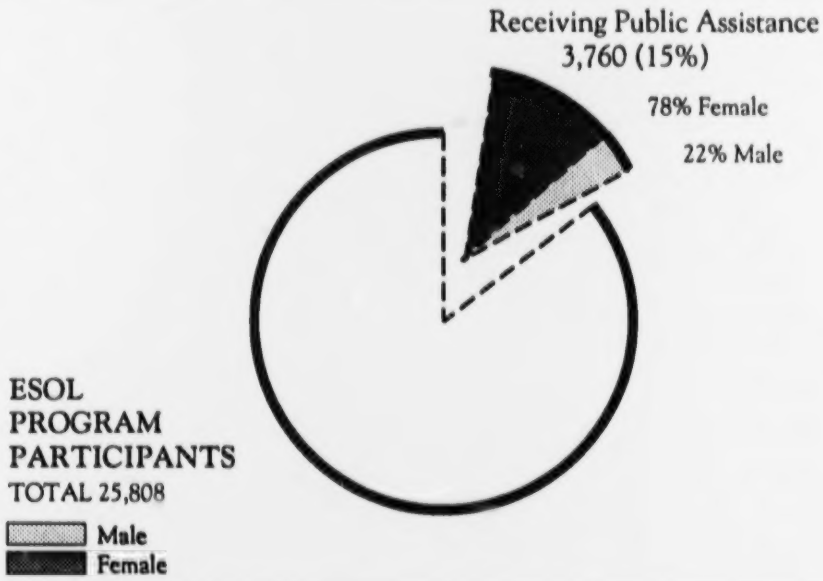
[2] The occupational categories are those given by the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* of the U.S. Department of Labor.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

In the BE programs, 30% of the students reported that they were receiving some form of public assistance, while 15% of the ESOL students said they received public assistance. The overwhelming majority of these public assistance participants were women.

TABLE V
RECEIPT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AMONG NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS





EMPLOYMENT AND PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Among students who attend BE and ESOL programs during the day, a relatively small proportion are employed full time. Evening students, on the other hand, are very likely to be working full time.

TABLE VI
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEW YORK CITY PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY SCHEDULE

Schedule	Day		Evening	
	BE	ESOL	BE	ESOL
Total Number	9,192	8,782	8,248	17,008
PERCENT EMPLOYED				
Full time	12	20	57	70
Part time	19	8	11	8
PERCENT NOT EMPLOYED				
1 Year or More	25	24	13	7
Less than 1 Year	15	16	6	7
Not in Labor force	29	32	13	8
Total Percent	100	100	100	100

ISSUES TO CONSIDER

- Some practitioners believe that full time work for young adults may hamper education which could provide greater job mobility over a lifetime. Among youth attending BE programs, it is uncommon for students to hold full time positions. Once youth acquire full time positions, programs report having difficulty retaining them. Recognizing that young adults may need to work, how can programs accommodate working youth so that their short-term needs and long-term goals do not conflict?
- A substantial number of individuals attending programs are searching for employment. Often they hope their program can assist them in finding work not only through the acquisition of skills but through direct job services. What should and can programs do to assist students entering the labor force?
- Among the segment of the population that left school before completing 9th grade, 48.5% are male while 51.4% are female, yet only 39% of BE program participants are male. Why does this difference in participation patterns exist? Would more job-related services or workplace literacy programs attract men? Do men come to terms with their need for literacy services only after entering the job market?
- Employment among ESOL students is higher overall than among BE students. In addition, the types of jobs held by ESOL and BE students differ. BE students are more likely to hold white collar positions while ESOL students are employed in blue collar occupations more often than their English-speaking counterparts. How can programs appropriately target their job services to meet the diverse needs of these different groups? In examining the barriers to labor force participation, what do these variations imply?
- Since the early 1970's, the federal government has sponsored a variety of experimental programs to provide employment and educational services for recipients of public assistance. Government agencies, non-profit organizations and businesses, along with adult literacy programs, have cooperated to provide short-term work experiences and education to public assistance recipients. As reforms in federal welfare policy are implemented on a full-scale basis, greater numbers of public assistance recipients will be expected to participate in job placement and educational programs. What lessons have been learned about helping public assistance recipients to find jobs? How will this new federal policy affect adult education programs?
- New efforts need to be made to facilitate the movement of adult learners into the labor force. How can stronger linkages between adult education services and job training and placement services be developed? By using the high school diploma as the criterion for hiring, employers may screen out capable individuals. What alternative methods of determining job qualifications are available if New York employers hope to fill their positions with city residents?

- Adult education program experiences with on-the-job training are not uncommon. For instance, patternmakers in the garment industry have improved their English through programs which focus on work-related vocabulary. Home health aides have improved their reading and writing skills to acquire certification required by the state. Building maintenance workers have gained skills to become superintendents through adult education program efforts. Once an individual is employed, how effective are strategies to give additional training? Could initiatives to improve and expand this type of approach contribute to the city's employment picture? Are the skills acquired in this type of job training program transferable to other aspects of life? Do the skills learned on the job contribute significantly to a well-rounded education?
- Assisting students to develop their basic skills while becoming acclimated to the working world places enormous demands on programs which have few resources. Efforts to increase labor force participation among adult learners will affect not only curriculum but also scheduling and the non-instructional services which programs provide. More than three-quarters of the students who are receiving public assistance attend programs during the day. If a substantial number of these individuals are placed in full time, entry-level positions during the day, will evening programs be able to accommodate them so that they can continue their education? If additional evening programs are to be initiated, consideration as to location is needed since safety and travel time can inhibit participation. A large proportion of adult learners may also require evening child care assistance not only for preschoolers but for children who attend school. How can the various agencies coordinate their efforts to provide the complex services needed to assist students?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Adult literacy programs in New York City serve individuals with a wide range of employment needs and expectations. The information from the Literacy Assistance Center provides the following impressions about the adult learner population.

- Approximately one-half of the students attending programs are working. Often they hope to enhance their job performance and/or job status by improving their basic skills. Among the other half of the adult learner population, lengthy periods of unemployment are common. The educational needs of this segment of the program population may include job searching and employment preparation skills as well as job training.
- Nearly two-thirds of the participants in programs are women. Women in programs are less likely to be employed and more likely to receive public assistance than their male counterparts.
- In general, the patterns of employment among New York City's adult learner population resemble the trends among adults without high school diplomas nationally. Within the New York City adult literacy population there is relatively little variation in employment status when students are compared in terms of age, ethnicity and levels of prior education. The sharpest contrasts in employment levels and types of occupations appear when comparing the BE and ESOL subgroups.

Students and policy makers often expect adult literacy programs to provide employment as well as educational services. While participation in literacy programs may aid students in their work situations, the experiences of program administrators and staff lead many to believe that a more aggressive strategy for coping with unemployment is needed. Those responsible for implementing literacy programs realize that, for many students, the acquisition of a job takes priority over a commitment to a lengthy, well-rounded education program.

Strategies to assist adults who are not working to participate in reading, writing, math and/or English courses and obtain work experience have been designed and tested. Implementing these strategies on a broader scale will create a need for new practices and additional resources. Practitioners in the fields of literacy and job training are concerned not only with assisting students to obtain entry into the job market but also to acquire the skills and experience that will allow them to develop careers which provide a higher living standard. Ideally, they plan to retain students beyond the point of finding employment, to facilitate long-term career development and ongoing educational achievements.

The approach of providing combined educational and employment services to assist in bringing about long-term improvements in the lives of students presents a challenge, as well as an opportunity, to adult literacy practitioners, social service providers and employers.

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